

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6036

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 BRUSSELS 07366

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SUBJ: SIMONET'S APRIL 11 SPEECH

REF: A. BRUSSELS 7 218
B. NEWLIN-OLSEN TELECON

1. FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF FOREIGN MINISTER
SIMONET'S APRIL 11 SPEECH TO THE BELGO-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION
ON U.S. - EUROPEAN RELATIONS.

2. CONTRARY TO THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN MEN, THAT BETWEEN
STATES IS NOT NECESSARILY GREATER WHEN IT IS LEFT UNSAID,
AFFINITIES OF CULTURE, TRADITIONS AND INTERESTS DO NOT
EXEMPT PEOPLES FROM MAKING A PERIODIC EFFORT TO EXPLAIN
AND CLARIFY THEIR COMMON GOALS, PARTICULARLY WHEN THEY ARE
LINKED TOGETHER IN AN ALLIANCE IN AN EFFORT TO ACHIEVE THEM.
AN ALLIANCE LOSES ITS VIGOR, AND THUS ITS EFFICIENCY WHEN
IT PERMITS AMBIGUITY AND LACK OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING
SLOWLY TO AFFECT THE RELATIONS OF THE ALLIES.

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3. THIS THREAT GROWS WHEN THE WORLD BECOMES MORE
COMPLEX AND UNSTABLE.

4. NOW, WHO WOULD DARE TO DENY THAT SUCH IS THE CASE SINCE
THE BEGINNING OF THIS DECADE?

5. THE ERA OF MONOLITHIC CERTAINTY IS OVER, AS ARE IDEOLOGICAL

BOUNDARIES, AND POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC CERTAINTIES ETANCHES.
IT IS NO LONGER A TIME -- HAPPILY -- IN WHICH STATES MUST, IN
GOOD FAITH OR BAD FAITH, TAKE POSITIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE
DILEMMA OF "WHO IS NOT WITH ME IS AGAINST ME."

6. IN ALL THE ASPECTS WHICH CONCERN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS,
THERE ARE DISCUSSIONS OF THE CONDITIONS FOR A BETTER CO-
EXISTENCE. THERE ARE NEGOTIATIONS, DOUBTLESS PAINFUL, ON THE
STRUCTURES OF NEW POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC EQUILIBRIUMS.

7. NEW POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUMS IN A WORLD IN WHICH THE ONLY
AREA OF CONFRONTATION POSSIBLE IS NO LONGER AN EAST-WEST
CONFRONTATION. TODAY THERE IS ALSO A NORTH-SOUTH SPLIT
WHICH POSES A MAJOR CHALLENGE FOR THE WEST.

8. ECONOMIC ALSO BECAUSE EACH OF THE LARGE POLITICO-ECONOMIC
GROUPINGS -- THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES WITH A MIXED OR
COLLECTIVIST ECONOMY, THE DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES -- ARE PASSING THROUGH A CRISES OF
ADAPTING THEIR STRUCTURES AND THEIR POPULATION'S WAY OF LIFE,
FOR WHICH NONE OF THEM HAVE A RAPID AND SATISFACTORY SOLUTION.

9. ALSO, BECAUSE BETWEEN THEMSELVES THEY MUST DEFINE THE
OPERATING RULES FOR A SYSTEM THEY WOULD ACCEPT.

10. A NEW STRATEGIC EQUILIBRIUM ALSO IN THE MEASURE IN WHICH
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THE CAPACITY TO ANNIHILATE MANKIND IS TODAY SHARED BY TWO
SUPERPOWERS.

11. THAT IS THE LIGHT WHICH IT IS NECESSARY TO BRING TO THIS
BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT STATE OF AMERICAN-EUROPEAN
RELATIONS. I WOULD BEGIN BY FORMULATING A BRIEF AND CONCISE
DIAGNOSIS. IT WILL IMPLICITLY INCLUDE A COMPARISON WITH
PREVIOUS PERIODS. CONSCIOUS OF THE DANGERS WHICH
ARE ALWAYS HIDDEN IN A LAPIDARY OVERVIEW, I WOULD
THUS RISK DEFINING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY BY SAYING THAT
THEY ARE MORE OPEN AND LESS STRAINED THAN THEY WERE DURING
THE PERIOD 1972-1974 WHEN CERTAIN FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC GROWTH WERE SHAKEN. BUT IN IMMEDIATELY ADDING THAT
THEY ARE ALSO MORE MARKED BY QUESTIONS, AND EVEN BY AN ANXIETY
THAT WAS NOT EVEN IMAGINED AT THE END OF 1976.

12. THE UNITED STATES CANNOT BE REPROACHED BY ITS ALLIES FOR
NOT FULLY ASSUMING ITS GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY.

13. TODAY, THE ECHO OF THE WORDS JOHN KENNEDY CAST TO THE
WORLD, THE LIVING SPACE FOR THE SPREADING OF AMERICAN IDEALISM

AND POWER, HAS BEEN EXTINGUISHED.

14. THE TRAGEDY OF VIET NAM HAS LEFT STILL SENSITIVE SCARS
IN THE AMERICAN SOUL AND IN THE MEMORY OF THE POLITICAL
LEADERSHIP. THESE EXPLAIN WHY THE BOLD AND SELF-ASSURED
GIANT HAS BECOME CAUTIOUS IN THE FACE OF CERTAIN EVENTS.

15. MIGHT IT NOT BE THAT ONE OF THE IRRITATING PARADOXES REGARDING
SUPERPOWER IS THAT EVEN THOSE WHO REACT ACIDLY TO THE
DEMONSTRATION OF ITS POWER ARE THE FIRST TO DEPLORE ITS
ABSENCE.

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16. BUT TODAY IT IS NO LONGER ONLY A CASE OF A NEW DEMONSTRATION
OF THIS POLITICAL SCHIZOPHRENIA WHICH HAS MARKED OUR
RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES FROM THE OUTSET OF THE
ALLIANCE.

17. EUROPEANS SOMETIMES THINK THAT, IF AMERICAN
POLICY HAS FINALLY AND HAPPILY EMERGED FROM THE LETHARGY IN
WHICH EXTERNAL REBUFFS AND AN UNPRECEDENTED INTERNAL POLITICAL
CRISIS HAD LEFT IT, IT DOES NOT, HOWEVER, OFFER TO THE
WORLD AND MORE PARTICULARLY TO THE ALLIES OF THE UNITED
STATES A PLAN, BOTH GLOBAL AND CLEARLY DEFINED, A PLAN
WHICH COULD BE FOLLOWED WITH STEADFASTNESS AND PERSEVERENCE.
THEREFORE, THE IMPRESSION IS GROWING AMONG ITS ALLIES THAT
THE BENDING OF THE POLICY, WHICH IS OBSERVABLE AT CERTAIN

MOMENTS, IS NOT ONLY THE RESULT OF TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

18. NO ONE COULD ACCUSE A GOVERNMENT OF INCONSTANCY WHEN IT TRIES TO ADAPT THE MEANS OF THE CARRYING OUT OF ITS POLICY TO THE VARIABLES OF THE SITUATION.

19. DID NOT MAZARIN SAY THAT "IN POLITICS CONSTANCY IS ALWAYS UNCLASSIFIED

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TO WANT THE SAME THING AND NOT ALWAYS TO DO THE SAME THING." AND, THE OBLIGATION TO PROVE THAT CONSTANCY IS ALL THE MORE IMPERATIVE WHEN IT CONCERNS A DOMINANT AND WORLD POWER.

20. THERE HAVE BEEN A CERTAIN NUMBER OF NEW DIRECTIONS ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE BEGINNING OF 1977. THIS IS PARTICULARLY THE CASE FOR THE COURAGEOUS, VERY COURAGEOUS EFFORTS WHICH THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE IN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST. ON THE WHOLE, EUROPEANS RECOGNIZE THEIR MERIT AND NEED.

21. AT OTHER TIMES, HOWEVER, IT HAS BEEN MORE DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO GRASP AND THUS TO UNDERSTAND THE MOTIVES BEHIND ONE OR THE OTHER DECISION TO ACT OR TO REFRAIN FROM ACTING.

22. IT IS NECESSARY TO EXHIBIT GOOD FAITH AND TO AVOID THE AMBIVALENT REACTIONS TO WHICH EUROPEANS ARE ONLY TOO PRONE. TO GRUMBLE AGAINST AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN CERTAIN SPHERES AND TO COMPLAIN OF A LACK OF INITIATIVE ON THE PART OF THE TITULARY SUPERPOWER OF THE WESTERN SYSTEM IS A RATHER COMMON REFLEX IN EUROPE.

23. THE FACT REMAINS THAT OUR ATTACHMENT TO THE ALLIANCE AND OUR WILLINGNESS TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE UNITED STATES IS NOT EXEMPTED FROM QUESTIONS, AS I HAVE JUST SAID.

24. MY PURPOSE WOULD DOUBTLESS BE CLEARER IF I BRIEFLY TOUCHED ON SOME PROBLEMS, CONCERNING WHICH A VARIETY OF OPINIONS HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED RANGING FROM UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT TO UNEASY ANXIETY. I WILL LIMIT MYSELF TO FOUR OF THESE.

25. THE FIRST TWO CONCERN THE EVOLUTION OF REGIONS OF THE WORLD WHOSE FATE IS CLOSELY LINKED TO OURS: AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE UNCLASSIFIED

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EAST.

26. THE OTHER TWO ARE OF A MORE GENERAL NATURE AND PRIMARILY ECONOMIC. THESE ARE ENERGY POLICY AND THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY ORDER.

27. I WOULD SAY AS A STARTER THAT IF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF AMERICAN POLICY IN AFRICA AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST DO NOT ALWAYS APPEAR TO US WITH ALL DESIRABLE CLARITY, IT NEVERTHELESS CONSTITUTES A CHANGE NOVATION IN THE UNITED STATES' ATTITUDE OVER WHICH EUROPEANS CAN ONLY REJOICE.

28. LET US REMARK AT THE OUTSET THAT IT TOOK THE RAPID AND ULTIMATELY VIOLENT DECOLONIZATION IN ANGOLA FOR EUROPEANS AND AMERICANS TO OVERCOME THE RELATIVE INDIFFERENCE WHICH THEY HAD TOWARD THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA. MOST CERTAINLY THE INDIFFERENCE WAS GREATER ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES THAN ON THE PART OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. SOME MEMBER COUNTRIES MAINTAINED PRIVILEGED RELATIONS WITH SOME AFRICAN STATES. DID IT THE EEC NOT, FROM THE OUTSET OF ITS CREATION, ESTABLISH RELATIONS FOR COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES, THE NUMBER OF WHICH HAVE GROWN FOLLOWING THE EXPANSION OF THE COMMUNITY.

29. IF TODAY THE CONFRONTATIONS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA ARE SOMEWHAT ATTENUATED, ONE SHOULD NOT ASSIGN EXCLUSIVE RESPONSIBILITY TO THE UNITED STATES FOR THE UNFAVORABLE SITUATION TO THE WEST WHICH HAS COME ABOUT.

30. RATHER THAN DEPLORE THE REFUSAL OF THE UNITED STATES TO INTERVENE ACTIVELY IN THE SOMALI-ETHIOPIAN CONFLICT, WOULD IT NOT BE BETTER FOR EUROPE, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND WITH RESOLUTION, TO ARRIVE AT A COMMON POLICY FOR THE AFRICAN CONTINENT AND COORDINATE IT WITH THE UNITED STATES?

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31. IN FACT, A CONCERTED ACTION OF THAT TYPE ALREADY HAS BEEN FOLLOWED FOR SEVERAL MONTHS TOWARD AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHERE THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF THE ACCESSION OF THE BLACK MAJORITY TO THE FORMATION AND EXERCISE OF POLITICAL POWER. HERE ALSO, ONE PERHAPS COULD CRITICISE FROM TIME TO TIME A SOMEWHAT CUTTING POSITION OR ANOTHER TAKEN BY THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION. BUT THERE DOES NOT SEEM TO ME TO BE ANY CREDIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE COMMON EFFORTS BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES SEEKING A BETTER POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM BETWEEN THE BLACK MAJORITY AND THE WHITE MINORITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. UNLESS ONE BLINDS ONESELF TO REALITY AS THE WEST HAS ONLY TOO OFTEN DONE BY REFUSING TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE DEMANDS, SOMETIMES EXCESSIVE IN THEIR EXPRESSION, BUT WHICH ALL THE WEIGHT OF HISTORY SUPPORTS OVER THE LAST 30 YEARS ON THE CONTINENTS FORMERLY DOMINATED BY THE WEST. CUBAN REGIMENTS COULD HAVE NO BETTER ALLIES THAN FROM THESE BLIND VOLUNTEERS.

32. THE CONCORDANCE OF VIEWS THAT PREVAILS IN MOST OF THE ELEMENTS OF AN AFRICAN POLICY, WHICH INDEED PRESENTS THE APPEARANCE OF A CONTINUING CREATION, IS ALSO FOUND
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WHERE THE MIDDLE EAST IS CONCERNED. AT A TIME WHEN FROM ALL SIDES THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION IS ATTACKED BY CRITICISMS AND ACCUSATIONS, AND WHEN A DIFFICULT DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES SOMETIMES LIMITS TO THE POINT OF PARALYSIS THE PRESIDENT'S ABILITY TO ACT, ONE MUST RECOGNIZE THE POLITICAL COURAGE THAT THE LATTER HAS SHOWN IN REFUSING TO ALLOW THE FOUNDERING OF THE DISCUSSIONS LEADING TOWARD A JUST AND BALANCED SOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

33. SOME WILL PERHAPS SAY THAT IN POLITICS COURAGE IS NOT EVERYTHING AND THAT IT MUST BE ILLUMINATED BY KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE. THIS IS UNDOUBTEDLY TRUE PROVIDING THAT THIS STATEMENT BE NUANCED BY TWO REFLEXIONS.

34. FIRST THE EXPERIENCE THAT EUROPEANS HAVE HAD HAS NOT ALWAYS ENABLED THEM TO CONCEIVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO REALITY THE POLICIES CALLED FOR BY CIRCUMSTANCES. AND THEN, WE ALL KNOW SINCE DESCARTES THAT, UNLIKE GOOD SENSE WHICH IS THE MOST COMMON QUALITY IN THE WORLD, TRUE COURAGE IS A RARE COMMODITY UBSSTITUTES FOR WHICH DO NOT ENDURE .

35. THERE ARE NO POINTS OF MISUNDERSTANDING OR POLICY DIVERGENCE THAT CAN BE FOUND ON THIS SUBJECT BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. IT IS TO THE INTEREST OF EVERYONE IN THE WEST AND MIDDLE EAST TO WORK PATIENTLY AND TENACIOUSLY PROGRESSIVELY TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS WHEREBY THE MIDDLE EAST WOULD CEASE TO BE THE POTENTIAL DETONATOR OF A TRAGIC CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS.

36. IT IS LESS ON THE GROUND THAN IN THE CONCEPTION AND THE CARRYING OUT OF GLOBAL POLICIES DESTINED TO CREATE NEW STRUCTURES OF PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGES OF RESOURCES AND ALSO UNCLASSIFIED

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THE CONTROL OF INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FLOWS THAT LACK OF UNDERSTANDING AND DIFFERENCES OF OPINIONS ARISE. TO TELL THE TRUTH IT ALSO SEEMS TO ME THAT THE LACK OF UNDERSTANDING IS GREATER IN STRATEGIC MATTERS THAN IN ENERGY OR INTERNATIONAL MONETARY POLICY. IN THESE LATTER TWO AREAS, EUROPEANS CERTAINLY FIND IT EASIER TO UNDERSTAND THE BEHAVIOR OF THE UNITED STATES THAN THEY CAN FOR THE MOMENT IN STRATEGIC AND MILITARY MATTERS AS IS SHOWN BY THE CHOICE OF THE PRESIDENT TO POSTPONE HIS DECISION ON WHETHER OR NOT TO PRODUCE THE NEUTRON BOMB.

37. THE EXPLANATION THAT COMES TO THEIR MINDS DOES NOT CONSIDER THE IMPENETRABLE NATURE OF THE INTENT BUT THE DELIBERATE DECISION VOLONTE OF THE WORLD'S FIRST ECONOMIC POWER, GLUTTONOUS CONSUMER OF ONE THIRD OF THE ENERGY USED IN THE WORLD, HUB OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM, NOT TO ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITY THAT DERIVES FROM THAT PRIVILEGED POSITION. TODAY, EVEN IF ONE DOES NOT CONSIDER THIS DELIBERATE DECISION, THE MOST PREVAILING VIEW IS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS ACTING WITH A LAXITY WHICH WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED IN A COUNTRY OF LESSER IMPORTANCE EVEN IF IT WERE PASSING THROUGH A DIFFICULT ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SITUATION.

38. IF I HAVE THUS CHOSEN AMONG THE PIECES IN THE DOSSIER OF DIFFERENCES THAT EUROPEANS HAVE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES ENERGY AND MONETARY POLICY IT IS BECAUSE THEY ARE LINKED WITH EACH OTHER.

39. IT WAS FRANCOIS SIMIAND, A SOCIOLOGIST WHO WAS ALSO INTERESTED IN ECONOMICS AND WHO HAS NOW BEEN LONG FORGOTTEN, WHO SAID THAT "ALL MONEY, EVEN GOLD, IS FIDUCIARY." THAT IS TO SAY, IT IS BASED ON AN ACT OF CONFIDENCE IN ITS

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SOLIDITY AND STABILITY THAT IS REPEATED EACH DAY. WHEN WE
COME TO A POINT WHERE THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM IS
ESSENTIALLY BASED ON MONETARY SIGNS BY A NATIONAL MONETARY
POWER, THEN THE PENULTIMATE STAGE IS REACHED WHERE THE INTERNATIONAL
MONETARY SYSTEM WILL BE ESSENTIALLY BASED ON CONVENTIONS AND ON
THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ADHESION OF COUNTRIES, COMPANIES, AND
INDIVIDUALS.

40. THE TECHNIQUES OF MONETARY STABILIZATION OR OF LIMITING
THE RATES OF EXCHANGE ARE ONLY SECONDARY MEASURES. THE
EXPERIENCE OF HISTORY SHOWS US THAT STABILIZATION LOANS HAVE
NEVER BEEN MORE EFFICACIOUS THAN WHEN THEY WERE NOT NEEDED.
I MEAN BY THIS THAT, WHEN IT BECAME NECESSARY TO HAVE RECOURSE
TO THEM THIS WAS THE SIGN OF A LACK OF CONFIDENCE THAT, WHEN
IT IS ESTABLISHED IN PEOPLE'S MINDS, NO EXTENT OF INTERVENTION
CAN STEM.

41. THE REFORM OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY
SYSTEM TODAY STILL LARGELY REMAINS A SUBJECT FOR SPEECHES OR
A DISSERTATION THEME. IT WILL REMAIN SO AS LONG AS THE
COUNTRIES WHOSE MONETARY SYSTEM IS LINKED TO THAT OF THE
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DOMINANT ECONOMY HAVE NOT REGAINED CONFIDENCE IN THE CAPACITY
OF THIS DOMINANT ECONOMY TO REGAIN CONTROL OF
ITS OWN MONETARY SYSTEM. IF THE CONGRESS WERE ABLE TO PASS A

LAW DEMONSTRATING THE WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO INCREASE ITS ENERGY PRODUCTION AND REDUCE ITS PETROLEUM IMPORTS, AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE WOULD BE REESTABLISHED.

42. IN ORDER TO DO THAT, HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT THE UNITED STATES, WHICH THE ENGLISH ESSAYIST HENRY FAIRLIE CALLS "THE SPOILED CHILD OF THE WESTERN WORLD", AGREED TO RECONSIDER BOTH ITS MANNER OF CONSUMPTION AND LIFE-STYLE.

43. AT THIS POINT I WILL STOP BECAUSE IT IS IMPROPER TO COMMENT ON THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF A FRIENDLY STATE.

44. BUT IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TO UNDERLINE TWO RECENT EVENTS, ONE OF WHICH RELATES TO ENERGY POLICY AND THE OTHER TO INTERNATIONAL MONETARY POLICY:

- TWO OR THREE DAYS AGO, A CERTAIN NUMBER OF IDEAS WERE EVOKED ABOUT THE STRENGTHENING OF EUROPEAN MONETARY COHESION. THIS SHOULD NOT BE A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE NECESSARY DISCUSSION WITH THE UNITED STATES ABOUT MONETARY QUESTIONS. ONE SHOULD NOTE THAT SEVEN OR EIGHT YEARS AGO, THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO CREATE AN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION WITHIN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WAS UPSET BY THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE DOLLAR.

- ABOUT NUCLEAR POLICY, THE DECISIONS MADE BY THE UNITED STATES ON NON-PROLIFERATION AND WHICH SEEK TO IMPOSE ON USERS THE MOST RESTRICTIVE CONDITIONS ARE POTENTIALLY A SOURCE OF CONFLICT WHICH WE MUST AVOID.

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45. I WILL STOP AFTER LEAVING TWO THOUGHTS: THE FIRST DERIVES DIRECTLY FROM THE IDEA THAT I HAVE JUST FORMULATED: WE ARE BECOMING MORE AND MORE INTERDEPENDENT BECAUSE OUR SECURITY, BUT ALSO OUR PROSPERITY, AND THEREFORE OUR INTERNAL POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM DEPEND ON THE OPINION THAT CITIZENS WILL HAVE OF A COUNTRY WHICH IS BOTH VERY CLOSE AND VERY DIFFERENT. LET US DRAW FROM THIS INTERDEPENDANCE THE CONCLUSION OF DRAWING THE BONDS OF OUR ALLIANCE CLOSER TOGETHER.

46. AND THE SECOND TAKES ME BACK TO THE BEGINNING OF MY PRESENTATION. A GOOD ALLIANCE EXISTS ONLY IF IT IS POSSIBLE FOR EACH TO SHARE ITS PROBLEMS AND ITS CONCERNS IN THE CONTEXT OF A TOTAL WILLINGNESS TO UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS OF OTHERS. ONLY HE WHO IS CONSCIOUS OF THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF LEAVING THE ALLIANCE CAN SPEAK WITH FREEDOM AND AUTHORITY ABOUT THE CONDITIONS FOR ITS INDISPENSABLE SURVIVAL. END TEXT.

47. FRENCH LANGUAGE TEXT, REplete WITH AMBIGUITIES, POUCHED
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